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FINDING DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN: The Spanish transition through Swiss Italian-speaking radio programmes (RSI), 1975-1978

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Abstract:

Between General Franco's agony (October/November 1975) and the Constitution's approval (December 1978), European media reported intensively about the democratisation process in Spain. The present paper deals with its examination through the *Radio della Svizzera di lingua italiana* (RSI) broadcasts. As the only Swiss Italian-speaking broadcaster it tried to provide in-depth information and opinion on a country whose solid ties with Switzerland were based on economy, migration and tourism. The study of this non-commercial radio allows us to determine the way the democratisation was approached and portrayed for a Swiss audience and offers a genuine case for transnational historical research.

Key words: radio, Italian-speaking Switzerland, Spain, democratisation process, journalism.

1. Introduction

The economic relationship between Franco's Spain and Switzerland was friendly and solid, resting on a significant volume of Swiss capital invested in Spain.¹ The migratory flows from Spain to Switzerland, beginning in the early 1960s, coincided with an awakening of an anti-Francoist mindset within Swiss left-wing parties and organizations. While the establishment and radical anti-Communists praised Spain's prosperity under dictatorial rule,² criticism of the regime and of the good economic relations became more evident from 1968. In 1970, the Spanish diaspora in Switzerland numbered 113,000 that same year more than 400,000 travellers made the journey in the opposite direction.³ Despite these considerable numbers, it was the media that became the main information source about Spain in Switzerland.⁴

There is already a great deal of research focusing on foreign perception of late- and post-Francoism. Of particular note are the recent findings of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra project⁵ on the international coverage of the democratisation process. Within this framework, research has been done about the press in the UK, the USA, France, Italy and West Germany. These studies reveal two gaps though. The first is the lack of a Swiss perception since they are mainly steered to draw a teleological conception of a particular kind of European integration, from which Switzerland is excluded. The second is due to the predominance of the written press, since electronic media are not taken into account.⁶ The reason for this lies mainly in the difficulty of accessing audio-visual material, but also in a certain reticence among historians and the presumed superiority of written text over images or the spoken word.⁷ Nevertheless, the problem of accessibility is being overcome in some countries thanks to projects of conservation, dissemination and implementation within university teaching by means of interdisciplinary approaches.⁸ Consequently, studies based on radio or TV material can now fill this gap. Audio-visual media are especially suited for transnational history since they allow focus on various cross-border phenomena.⁹

The *Radio Svizzera di lingua italiana* (RSI) was part of the Swiss Radio and Television Broadcasting Company (*Société suisse de radiodiffusion et télévision*; SSR),¹⁰ and it provided Italian-speaking Switzerland with information and entertainment. The news programmes *Panorama d'attualità* and *Speciale sera* aimed to provide in-depth information about current affairs. Their use in this research enables us to determine the interest of Swiss radio-journalism in Spain, taking into account the evolution in Spain but also the Swiss political and media context. The broadcasts, mostly consisting of pre-recorded phone interviews, contributions from experts in the radio studio, reports from RSI correspondents and, sometimes, re-aired material, highlight some aspects of the effort put into the programme's production. As for the accuracy of presentation regarding the complex reality of Spain, the RSI team used translations from Spanish and other languages into Italian, but also reworded Spanish content with a view to reducing the complexity of the original material.

Focusing on the RSI responds, firstly, to an interest in analysing the work of the only Italian-speaking Swiss public radio, which had played an important role as the only free Italian-speaking radio during Italian Fascist rule (its signal extending over the border into northern Italy). Furthermore, the RSI is explicitly mentioned in the memoirs of Juan María Bandrés, a defence attorney of Basque opponents during the Burgos Trial and the most important exponent of Basque socialism.¹¹ Secondly, this focus is justified by the relationship between the RSI and its related TV channel *Televisione Svizzera di lingua italiana*, which, as of 1973, had an important role in the conception of *Tele-revista*, a news programme for Spanish immigrants, which also looked at the political development of post-Franco Spain.¹² The material used here is accessible through the Swiss sound archives (*Fonoteca Nazionale*, henceforward FN) in Lugano.

2. The Swiss Media During the Cold War

During the post-war period, the real battlefields shifted towards the virtual world, as the battles were fought over electromagnetic waves and the printed page. Media thus became producers of realities and weapons in the struggle between two completely opposed value systems.¹³ The beginning of the Cold War coincided in Switzerland with the National Spiritual Defence's renewal (*Geistige*

Landesverteidigung), a cultural and political movement initiated in the 1930s and conceived to foster values considered typically Swiss. To further this goal, it had been using the radio and the cinema newsreel. Following the Axis Powers' defeat, this movement adjusted to continue its fight, particularly against Communism.¹⁴

The RSI was founded in 1933 as *Radio Monte Ceneri* and named after the transmitter's location.¹⁵ The signal could be received beyond the Italian border, thus mitigating Fascist EIAR propaganda in Switzerland.¹⁶ Among the 1950s media, TV achieved dominance over the radio, but also over the press and cinema newsreels. Unlike the Iberian regimes, where TV depended on a ministry, or centralist democracies such as France and Italy, where governmental bodies had been created for its administration, Switzerland opted for a model regulated by public law that would guarantee a degree of independence from the state.

As it had happened with radio,¹⁷ the introduction of TV had a negative impact on the Swiss press, which began to show the first symptoms of deterioration. Numerous dailies became weeklies and their circulation numbers declined, whereas others disappeared completely.¹⁸ The disappearance of newspapers is linked to attempts at deregulating the radio monopoly in the 1970s.¹⁹

The TV launch in the early 1950s yielded a sceptical response from certain sectors of Swiss society who feared a decline of traditional values, while others criticised the dumbing down of messages as transmitted by TV. The press lobby, in turn, feared for their revenues from advertising and pledged to pay two million Swiss francs a year to SSR if the latter agreed not to broadcast any advertising.²⁰ In 1956 a second radio channel was created, primarily as a musical channel.²¹

In October 1964, the Swiss Confederation awarded SSR a new monopoly licence.²² Article 14 permitted for the first time the limited airing of advertising on TV, but maintained the prohibition for radio. Thus, in 1965, Swiss TV obtained revenues of over 20 million francs through advertising.²³ The maintained lack on the radio enabled it to provide a broader and more in-depth treatment of current affairs. In other words, in contrast with TV, where the duration of broadcasts was conditioned by commercial space, radio was untouched by economic considerations and could schedule its broadcasts based on quality of information alone.²⁴ Nevertheless the radio's mission was reset on entertainment, although last-minute news reports remained an exclusivity of radio journalism.²⁵

The TV had knocked the radio off its pedestal, but the latter still maintained a strong popularity. Competition between both media was particularly notable in the afternoon scheduling. For Swiss radio stations, new styles more in keeping with the 1960s were proposed. The academic and pedantic tones gave way to a more journalistic, casual, and approachable style dedicated to entertainment.²⁶ Another important change was the removal of the obligation for radio to broadcast bulletins by the *Agence Télégraphique Suisse*, thereby allowing radio to edit its own news.²⁷ New broadcasts focusing on contemporary trends and regional news were important innovations that prevented the radio from decaying into a mere musical platform.

State control was still anchored in article 13, which prohibited any broadcast whose content might compromise Swiss domestic or foreign security or its diplomacy. In 1965, the Swiss TV authority suspended shortly before airing the broadcast of Hugo Loetscher's critical documentary about Portugal entitled *Ach, Herr Salazar* ('Alas, Mister Salazar').²⁸ Since this case is highly significant for our understanding of Swiss foreign policy, we should not be surprised by the benevolent tone of other programmes dedicated to Franco's Spain. On 25 April 1967, the RSI broadcasted an overview of Spain's politics,²⁹ focussing on the recently passed Organic Law of State. Student protests and strikes in Barcelona were also mentioned. However, during the entire programme, the word 'dictatorship' was not used at all, and the term 'regime' appeared only once. Furthermore, what is particularly striking is the frequent use of other words such as 'referendum', thereby conveying a distorted view of the dictatorship. The second half began with praise of good Spanish-Swiss relations.

Nonetheless, in Swiss radio and TV, the tide had turned. The *Rundschau* from January 1969 included an interview with Spanish dissident trade unionists, whose faces were not shown on camera.³⁰ At the end, one of them asked for a stronger commitment by European journalists aimed at denouncing repression in Spain. This trend was maintained, and as a result the angle on Spain chosen by Swiss TV in its coverage of the Burgos Trial in December 1970 sparked outrage at the Spanish Embassy.³¹ The RSI also covered dramatic events in a special programme, showing interviews with intellectual dissidents but also with the captain-general of Catalonia, to guarantee a balance of information.³²

At that time, Swiss radio and TV were under a double attack: from the right, which accused them of sympathising with protest movements and supposed 'communist infiltrations'; from the left, which

criticised their perceived attitude of servility to the *bourgeoisie*.³³ Radio and TV journalists were also fighting for a stronger autonomy from state control and for an equalisation of their status with that of their press colleagues.³⁴ Within this context of social and political struggle affecting the electronic media, the coverage of the incipient Spanish democratisation process began.

3. Five Broadcasts About Spain

A Survey of Opposition Forces

The first programme was conditioned by the recent protests against the September executions in Spain.³⁵ It began with an excerpt from an interview with Enrique Tierno Galván, leader of the *Partido Socialista Popular* (PSP) and a former law lecturer, who had been expelled from his university for his ideas. The programme featured radio presenter Graziano Terrani, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, economist Ramón Trías Fargas, trade unionist Julián Arisa, Jesuit José Díez Alegría, and another anonymous parish priest, as well as a militant from ETA V and another from ETA VI.

The programme's content, a survey of the forces opposing the dictatorship presented in the format of a journey around Spain, was introduced. It started in Hendaye, where the cries of anti-Francoist protesters could be heard: 'Free Garmendia and his comrades!' Quoting the words of one journalist, the moderator set out the European stance with regard to a moral problem. Europe would support men who were challenging dictatorship, 'but who are these men and what alternative do they offer to the regime?' The programme then returned to Tierno Galván's words, setting out the regime's agony symptoms and listing its stumbling blocks. Faced with its incapacity to resolve the problems the regime simply avoids them.

Moving away from the personal and authoritarian model of General Franco towards a Western-style pluralist democracy was the ambition of many opposition forces, from the moderate right to the radical left. Hence the programme then went on to focus on analysing the two main opposition collectives: the *Junta Democrática* and the *Plataforma de Convergencia Democrática*. Ruiz-Giménez, a former Minister of Education, now a dissident Christian Democrat, portrayed the forces within his *Plataforma* and emphasised its aspirations for a peaceful transition. He explained its *raison d'être*, making reference to the need for an alliance between socialists, Social Democrats and Christian Democrats to achieve a pluralist democracy. Regarding the violence of anti-Francoist groups, he stated that he could not condemn those who defend themselves from the regime's provocations, without first eradicating the causes of this violence. The programme then turned its attention to Tierno Galván's *Junta Democrática*.

The Basque separatist organisation ETA (Euskadi ta Askatasuna)³⁶ was the survey's next subject. Terrani examined its dual struggle for democracy and the Basque people's autonomy, and provided a concise historical sketch ending with the schism in 1970 that gave rise to ETA V and ETA VI. While the first pursued an independent Basque Nation, the latter sought a self-governing region within a socialist Spain.

Arisa described then the objective pursued by communist trade union *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO), i.e. the constitution of a single trade union within a democratic Spain. He claimed that it was not just a question of work-related demands, but also a national struggle to obtain political freedoms. Terrani went on to look at economic issues, especially in reference to multinational companies and the decline of their shares in Spain. Trías Fargas, labelled a liberal technocrat, outlined Spanish economic development since the late 1960s. He hinted at moderate optimism for the future, but added that the transition towards democracy would not be achieved completely without a resort to force.

The next section was dedicated to the Church, supposedly keen to accelerate the rupture. Terrani explained its traditional closeness to the regime. Díez Alegría stated that as a result of the Second Vatican Council the bishops had taken a critical stance against the regime. Then the anonymous priest spoke about the intention to renew the concordat between Spain and the Holy See. In his opinion, the failure to renew this understanding would suggest ambiguous behaviour on the part of the Spanish Church, which would endeavour to remain close to the people without breaking its ties with the regime.

Terrani concluded by alluding to the regime's intransigent repression, emphasising the isolation of intellectuals with a view to keeping the Spanish people from mobilising. However, the image of an

immobile Spain had disappeared. If Francoism was indeed agonising, it was also true that a new Spain was beginning to raise its voice without fear.

The broadcast, aired at a time marked by a general feeling of anti-Francoist indignation in Europe, suggests the hopeful idea that democracy was aspired to by a broad range of different political actors. This almost euphoric appeal was underscored by an excerpt from the first movement of Joaquín Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez* (*Allegro con spirito*) as an end score.³⁷ Although the interpolation of two ETA members might appear out of place due to the movement's violent character, interviews with these militants had not been uncommon in Swiss TV newsreels since 1968.³⁸

A Francoism Without Franco?

In the light of Franco's declining health, RSI returned to the issue of Spain in *Panorama d'attualità*,³⁹ dedicating half an hour to the uncertain situation.⁴⁰ The programme featured the presenter Aldo Sofia, Italian magazine *Relazioni internazionali*'s director Francesco Ricciu, and special correspondent with *Giornale Nuovo* Mario Cervi. For this programme, old interviews with Tierno Galván and Ruiz-Giménez, and even with Prince Juan Carlos were aired.

Sofia made reference to the oath taken by Juan Carlos to the *Cortes españolas*, in July 1969. After airing the speech without giving a translation, the question was asked: 'Who is Juan Carlos and which political forces will accept or reject him?' Ricciu attempted to answer, stressing the will to establish a new monarchy under the legitimacy of the uprising of 18th July. An old interview with Juan Carlos in French was then played, in which he described General Franco as a decisive figure in Spain's history, and pointed out his ability to 'solve the crisis of 1936' and his success in impeding Spanish participation in WWII. Speaking about his personal opinion, the prince stated Franco was a 'living example due to his patriotic devotion to serve Spain' and he concluded by stating his strong affection and admiration' towards him. Sofia then spoke about the young prince's image. Although at that time he was considered a supporter of democratic openness, his silence during the latest executions would position him, apparently, on the side of authoritarianism. Ricciu seconded Sofia and considered Juan Carlos an enigma with very modest qualities. On one fundamental aspect the two journalists' opinions differed: whereas Cervi affirmed that Francoism would die with Franco, Ricciu thought that it might easily be continued.

On the whole, the broadcast manifested a strong scepticism towards the Spanish prince, articulated both through the opinions of the guests and through Juan Carlos's hagiographic statements regarding his mentor. The material's choice suggests a biased view aimed at denigrating the heir to the throne rather than at providing a neutral portrayal, thus showing the same critical attitude as in the TV newsreel.⁴¹ The resulting tenor of the program could be described as a permanent and tense stalemate situation that would actually last until the dictator's death and beyond.

Entering a New Age

A special 20-minute programme, broadcast on 16 January 1976, opened with news about the general strike,⁴² which was interpreted by Sofia as a proof of real change in Spain. Both the *Junta* and the *Plataforma* justified and supported the strike, according to the presenter, who then went on to introduce the participants: Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, Marcelino Camacho, referred to as 'the most prestigious exponent of Spanish democratic syndicalism', Luis Blanco Villa, a journalist with the Catholic newspaper *¡Ya!*, and RSI correspondent from Madrid Marco Gandolfi, as well as Ricciu, talking in the radio studio itself.

The broadcast, comparable to the previous ones in terms of structure and content, included one important new feature: the testimony of a right-wing press representative. Sofia's reaction to the verbal offensive of Blanco Villa and his provocative question was to put the anti-communist discourse of his interlocutor into perspective and reveal a critical attitude towards certain sectors of Spanish society that looked to the past, obstinately insisting on a straightforward equation of Communism with evil.

The focus was mainly set on the question of whether the general strike was strictly related to labour concerns or whether it went further. Ricciu spoke about the strike's political significance, which went beyond wage demands. Then Gandolfi stated that the demonstrations would not go beyond the predictions of political observers and that the demands were purely economic, with additional requests for amnesty and trade union freedom.

Sofia subsequently introduced Camacho's testimony. He interpreted the struggle as a fight to increase disposable income. Asked if these struggles were purely material or whether they also possessed a political meaning, Camacho replied that, in order to defend their interests, the workers must take up a stance of strength through peaceful strikes. However, the law continued to prohibit strikes, rallies and demonstrations, so the demands could not be purely economic. Without political freedom, there could be no trade union freedom. The third and final question for Camacho focused on the refusal of the workers' movement to accept the government's calls for stability, upon which the right-wing parties could capitalise. Camacho underscored the demonstrations' peaceful nature and the desire for national reconciliation.

This statement gave rise to Ricciu labelling the 'explosion' of strikes and demonstrations taking place in Spain as an inevitable phenomenon caused by slow economic growth in 1975, inflation and unemployment. The political aspect would be even more important than the economic. The workers' reaction was read as a warning to the government. In a pre-recorded interview, Ruiz-Giménez declared his support in regard of the demonstrations and recognised the legitimacy of the workers' demands. Sofia explained that the declarations of Camacho and Ruiz-Giménez reflected the ideas of the democratic opposition.

Then the floor was given to Blanco Villa who was asked about the extent to which the strikes and social tensions could have been foreseen. He considered the demands of the Spanish Communists to be chiefly labour-oriented, but he attributed them to the desire to capitalise on the weakness of the government in achieving its political ends. Sofia was somewhat sceptical of these responses, since Blanco Villa lumped together communist and other movements on the extreme left of the political spectrum. With regard to the army's attitude, Blanco Villa stated: 'The army in Spain has always kept quite quiet, because it always held the power during the past forty years. I would say that it is still keeping the power today. I believe that the Spanish army will keep vigilant and I really don't think that it intends to intervene directly right now.' Ricciu agreed with him but he also criticised the timidly liberal programme of Prime Minister Arias Navarro and emphasised the need for true liberalisation, including the PCE's legalisation. Otherwise the government would not last long, owing to the tensions that could be caused by the Communists' exclusion from political life.

Considering the hostility of Swiss right-wing sectors and politicians towards anti-Francoist protests and gatherings in Switzerland,⁴³ it might be plausible to recognise through this broadcast an endeavour aimed at mitigating this animosity by propagating a definite benevolent image of the major opponents of the regime, by portraying them not as violent or radical but as peaceful and moderate democrats open to dialogue. RSI thus advocated the claims of the Spanish opposition.

On the Eve of the First Free Elections

The 26-minute broadcast on 13 June 1977 began with a reference to the results of the ballot in the Cortes on 18 November 1976, approving the Political Reform Bill, which would be subsequently approved by a referendum in December.⁴⁴

The presenter, Luca Giachetto, introduced the broadcast *Speciale sera* as a series of opinions and reflections about the different political parties in Spain. The programme featured pre-recorded interviews with the following personalities: Fernando Álvarez de Miranda, Jordi Pujol, Pedro de Beitia,⁴⁵ Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, José María Gil-Robles, Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora, Fernando Morán López and Felipe González. The programme began by praising, above all, the king and the Prime Minister, Adolfo Suárez. The *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE), led by González, was predicted to do well, but a degree of uncertainty was expressed with regard to the other forces. The first politician consulted in the programme was Álvarez de Miranda, head of the *Partido Popular Demócrata Cristiano*. He highlighted the need for fiscal reform and a policy of full employment. To achieve this, all the political groups would need to make a commitment, in particular those closest to the working class.

The second subject was the different self-governing communities and the Basque, Catalan, Galician and Andalusian nationalist movements. Pujol was presented as the *Pacte Català*'s spokesperson,⁴⁶ described in turn as a coalition between two 'vaguely social democratic' Catalanist parties. He portrayed Catalonia as a melting pot of different people and emphasized its European roots and the indispensable need for Spain's integration into Europe. Changing region, the programme then shifted its focus onto the Basque Country. Pedro de Beitia, an economist and a member of the *Partido*

Nacionalista Vasco (PNV), maintained that his party would participate in the election, in spite of Javier Ybarra's kidnapping by ETA. He then explained the electoral strategy and alliances with the *Partido Socialista de Euskadi*.

The next party to be presented was the PCE through an interview with Camacho, who expressed his party's firm intention to try and avoid another civil war and denied wanting to destabilise the country politically or economically. Camacho also hinted at fear of a military uprising.

The Christian Democrats were represented by Ruiz-Giménez, leader of the *Federación Demócrata Cristiana*, and Gil-Robles. Giacchetto began by asking about Ruiz-Giménez's refusal to integrate his coalition into the UCD. He argued that he wanted to maintain a genuinely Christian Democratic line and a status of independence, and therefore he wouldn't take part in government. His objectives were a parliament with constitutive power, a government that reflected the results of voting, and the solution of economic problems. Giacchetto examined this latter issue in greater depth, and a contribution from Gil-Robles was inserted, setting out the measures necessary to address the problems of the Spanish economy.

The following part of the programme was dedicated to *Alianza Popular* (AP), born from a regrouping of seven former regime ministers. AP was represented by Fernández de la Mora and was portrayed as a party looking to preserve and improve the national heritage created over the past forty years. Giacchetto asked him whether AP would support the majority electoral system over proportional representation, to which the interviewee answered by citing sociological and political studies supporting the first option. The irremovable rejection of the PCE was justified through references to Eastern European regimes. He also mentioned the cases of France and Italy, whose communist parties took advantage of political rights to strengthen their position without creating a climate of respect towards democracy. He further sharpened his criticism, stating: 'There are also other simple historical reasons: the Communist Party in Spain is like Nazism in Europe. It's a party that provoked a war and its defeat created a tragic national situation. The PCE's prohibition in Spain is comparable to that of the Nazi Party in Italy, Germany and other countries.'

Giacchetto then introduced the two main socialist parties: the PSOE and the PSP, attributing to the latter the greatest socialist opposition efforts against the regime. A PSP leader, Morán López, spoke about his party's attitude towards the EEC and the NATO, stating its clearly pro-European stance, present since its foundation in the 1950s, and the need for debate about Spain's entry into any international organisation. The final participant was the charismatic PSOE leader Felipe González, who spoke about the situation in Spain, branding it as 'unique' since the transition would take place building on structures from the previous regime, not as it had done in Portugal.

The broadcast presented Spain as a pluralist democracy *in utero* by illustrating a broad carousel of political forces. Although every party was described with balance and equidistance, there were some telling exceptions. While the Prime Minister's UCD was not introduced at all, the AP's description planted the idea of it being an obstinate anti-communist and definitely backward group. On the other side, by introducing the PSOE last, the RSI exhibited a subliminal preference as well as a eulogy of young González's charisma like other European media.⁴⁷

A Constitution for Spain

The RSI dedicated a broadcast lasting twelve minutes to the forthcoming constitutional referendum, containing a telephone interview with Julián García, *El País*' editor-in-chief. Giacchetto began with an introduction about the situation in Spain.⁴⁸ He explained that although the transition had taken place without too many violent traumas, there had been dramatic events such as the recent attempted coup and ETA's terrorist activities.⁴⁹ García maintained that the Constitution, although it might not satisfy everyone in Spain, was absolutely indispensable to end the era of dictatorship and considered it the start of a new era. He also highlighted the cooperation of several parties in drafting the charter's text.

The interview touched on the issue of right- and left-wing terrorism. The Basque Country's self-government was considered absolutely necessary, since the Basques had suffered at the hands of Francoist repression more than anyone else. Regarding ETA's struggle during the democratisation process, the editor described the matter as complicated and alluded to the presence of terrorism in democratic countries such as the UK, the FRG and Italy. The next subject introduced was that of extreme right-wing terrorism: was the threat of a *coup d'état* by reactionary army sectors real? García

denied this: although he recognised the existence of a nostalgic sector, he argued that the majority of high command positions in the army were in favour of democracy.

Suárez's resignation following the Constitution's approval, a move demanded in an editorial article, was tackled by Giacchetto, enquiring as to why parliament was not dissolved and general elections called immediately. García was in favour of new elections but considered it more urgent to call municipal elections, since these posts had been appointed during Franco's lifetime.

García maintained further that the struggle between the PSOE and the government would encompass traits pertaining to electoral strategy and ideology. As for the PCE, its crisis and its peaceful attitude, the interviewee judged Carrillo's behaviour to be very opportune. The purpose of the final question was to ascertain which party would win the elections if they were called immediately. García stated that the political spectrum would probably not change too much but that both the UCD and the PSOE would win some seats. This statement marked the interview's end.

4. Conclusions

The issue of Spanish democratisation sparked a relatively high interest at the RSI. The broadcasts' length and complex composition reveal a focus and motivation that go beyond the simple need for information about a country whose ties with Switzerland are based on economic interests. Considering the absence of a Swiss Italian-speaking expert in Spanish matters, the RSI's efforts might be quantified as high.

The commitment shows concern for a country looking for a path to democracy, and also fear of a traumatic outcome. This is inferred by, among other aspects, the interest shown in the army's role and its attitude towards political reforms. The focus on the armed forces might have been influenced by events in Portugal following the Carnation Revolution.

The efforts made to balance the contributions from an ideological point of view are flanked by a very progressive and bold style of journalism, which did not falter when it came to interviewing members of illegal organisations. The particular focus on ETA, counted in 1975 among the oppositional forces, but experiencing a shift towards a clear terrorist perception, corresponds to the general *Meistererzählung* on Spanish democratisation. In this sense, a certain awkwardness, attributed to a country widely untroubled by terrorism, cannot be dismissed.⁵⁰

An important transformation can be perceived in Juan Carlos's image: initially mistrusted and considered merely a pupil of Franco, he then went on to become, together with Suárez, the vigorous protagonist of a democratisation applauded by RSI. The information about Spain shows, all in all, a view that is incorporated into the transnational journalistic mentality of Western Europe; in other words, a cultural space that shares values and ideas of democracy, liberalism, social welfare and justice, and which also wants Spain to adhere to them.

From a strictly domestic point of view, the RSI's coverage of Spain's transition might also be considered as a matter of prestige in radio journalists' struggle for emancipation and self-awareness with TV and the press. In spite of the dominance of TV in the 1970s and the pigeonholing of the role of radio as pure entertainment, the RSI could prove thus to be capable of producing serious news broadcasts.

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Notes

1. Farré and Ruckstuhl, "inversiones suizas en España," 141-166.
2. As Judt remembers, anti-communism was one of the integrative forces for southern European autocratic regimes. Judt, *Postwar*, 525. For a concise overview of Swiss anti-communism see Rauber, "L'anticommunisme en Suisse".
3. Farré, *La Suisse et l'Espagne*, 125 and 394. For a brief overview of Spanish migration to Switzerland see Calvo, "emigración española en Suiza."
4. Wilke, "Imagebildung durch Massenmedien," 291-300.
5. Guillaumet et al., "Transición Española," 111-135. In regard to the French and Italian press, see: Angoustures, "L'opinion publique française," 672-686; Angoustures, "La transition espagnole," 279-292; Belmonte, "Desde Francia," 263-273; Dulphy, "Le regard français," 257-277; Lemus, "Percepciones prensa norteamericana," 249-262; Botti, "La transición española," 275-296.
6. Regarding the perception of the Spanish Civil War by the BBC one has to mention Deacon, "A Quietening Effect?"
7. Vallotton and Valsangiacomo, "sources radiophoniques," 41. In 2000, Stefan Wyss diagnosed 'ignorance in regard of audio-visual sources.' Wyss, "Vom Nutzen audiovisueller Quellen," 300.
8. See for instance Rauh, "Audiovisuelle Mediengeschichte," 23-32.
9. von Hodenberg, "Expeditionen in den Methodendschungel," 31-33.
10. In German "Schweizerische Radio- und Fernsehgesellschaft," SRG.
11. Castro, *Juan María Bandrés*, 73.
12. Calvo, Langa, and Prieto, "Tele-revista."
13. Lindenberger, "Einleitung," 9-23; von Hodenberg, "Expeditionen in den Methodendschungel," 30.
14. Tanner, "Switzerland and Cold War," 123-125.
15. Piattini, "La Radio Svizzera italiana," 24-25.
16. Ibid., 51-52. For a specific report on the intellectual exchanges between Italian-speaking Switzerland and Italy during WWII, see Valsangiacomo, "Radio della Svizzera Italiana," 115-129.

17. Piattini, "La Radio Svizzera italiana," 29-30.
18. Bollinger, *La presse suisse*, 42-91.
19. Schade, "Schweizerische Medienkonzentrationsdebatte," 253-278.
20. Vallotton, "Anastasia ou Cassandre?" 38-39.
21. Schade, "forschungsbasierte Programmgestaltung," 345-352.
22. "Konzession für die Benützung der elektrischen und radioelektrischen Einrichtungen der Schweizerischen Post-, Telephon- und Telegraphenbetriebe zur öffentlichen Verbreitung von Radio- und Fernsehprogrammen. 24 October 1964." *Bundesblatt*, vol. 2, no. 47, 26 November 1964.
23. Mäusli and Steigmeier, *Radio und Fernsehen*, 399.
24. Bourdieu, *Sur la télévision*, 83-85.
25. Schade, "forschungsbasierte Programmgestaltung," 347.
26. Marcacci, "L'avvento della televisione," 160.
27. Schade, "forschungsbasierte Programmgestaltung," 298-299; Vallotton, "Anastasia ou Cassandre?" 54-55; Scherrer, "Aufschwung mit Hindernissen," 69-70.
28. Vallotton, "Anastasia ou Cassandre?" 72.
29. Pia Pedrazzini, 'Il microfono della RSI in viaggio; Spagna d'oggi: Temi d'attualità,' broadcast 25 April 1967, RSI, FN, DAT12906.
30. Annemarie Schwyter, 'Rundschau,' broadcast 29 January 1969, Fernsehen DRS, Archives Fédérales Suisses (henceforward AFS), J2.225 2007/195 vol. 22.
31. Prieto, "Imagen monarquía española," 9.
32. Edoardo Rezzonico, 'Panorama d'attualità: La Spagna dopo Burgos,' broadcast 8 January 1971, RSI, FN DAT20928.
33. Vallotton, "Anastasia ou Cassandre?" 63-69; Schneider, "SRG-„Monopol“,“ 97-98.
34. Schneider, "SRG-„Monopol“,“ 95-96.
35. Graziano Terrani, 'Panorama d'attualità: La situazione in Spagna,' broadcast 10 October 1975, RSI, FN DAT21090.
36. 'Basque Homeland and Freedom'.
37. Also television broadcasts about Spain resorted to this piece, though they usually inserted its second movement (*Adagio*), which suggests a more dramatic and hopeless sensation than the first one.
38. E.g. Annemarie Schwyter, 'Rundschau,' broadcast 11 September 1968, Fernsehen DRS, AFS, J2.225 2007/195 vol. 14; 'Tagesschau-Téléjournal-Telegiornale,' broadcast 2 December 1970, SSR, AFS, J2.225 1996/68 vol. 2012; 'Tagesschau-Téléjournal-Telegiornale,' broadcast 16 December 1970, SSR, AFS, J2.225 1996/68 vol. 2015; 'Tagesschau-Téléjournal-Telegiornale,' broadcast 27 September 1975, SSR, AFS, J2.225 1996/68 vol. 2243; Erich Dammann, 'Rundschau,' broadcast 28 October 1975, Fernsehen DRS, AFS, J2.225 2007/195 vol. 194.
39. This broadcast was already examined in Prieto, "Imagen monarquía española," 16-18.
40. Aldo Sofia, 'Panorama d'attualità, La Spagna da Franco a Juan Carlos,' broadcast 24 October 1975, RSI, FN DAT21091.
41. See for instance Fred Koehli, 'Rundschau,' broadcast 28 October 1975, Fernsehen DRS, AFS, J2.225 2007/195 vol. 194; Prieto, "Imagen monarquía española," 13-16.
42. Aldo Sofia, 'Spagna. A due mesi dalla morte del dittatore,' broadcast 16 January 1976, RSI, FN DAT9832.
43. Farré, "Spanische Agitation"; Farré, *La Suisse et l'Espagne*, 401-412.
44. Luca Giacchetto, 'Speciale sera; La Spagna vota. Un Parlamento eletto dal popolo,' broadcast 13 June 1977, RSI, FN DAT9909.
45. According to the FN database and based on its pronunciation, it could have been 'Pedro Devicia', presented as the former spokesperson for the Basque government in exile and a PNV's representative. For this reason, it is more likely to have been Pedro de Beitia. This kind of transcription mistakes was fairly common. Tierno Galván, for example, appears in the database records as 'Tiago Galván'.
46. The journalist probably confused the *Pacte Català*, founded in Hostalric in November 1976, with the *Pacte Democràtic per Catalunya* (PDC), i.e. an alliance made up of *Esquerra Democràtica de Catalunya*, *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* and the *Partit Socialista de Catalunya (ex Reagrupament)*.
47. Guillamet et al., "Transición Española," 124, 130, and 134. Reckling, "Entre dictadura y democracia," 142.
48. Luca Giacchetto, 'Speciale sera; Da mercoledì la Spagna diventa una monarchia parlamentare,' broadcast 1 December 1978, RSI, FN DAT9950.
49. In fact, the years 1977 and 1978 marked the beginning of a new increase of terrorist violence in Spain. Sánchez-Cuenca, "La violencia terrorista."
50. Chocomeli, "Terrorismus."